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the thing that I found to be most disgusting and horrible. People were duped into this relationship with the CIA, a relationship from which there was no way out. There has been no physical intimidation, but it seems apparent that under the National Security Act—under the statements these people signed—there would be the probability of prosecution by the government . . . a twenty-year jail sentence to maintain your integrity is a very high price to pay." *

The NSA disclosures led to a rash of revelations about the CIA's involvement with virtually every important segment of American life—business, labor, government, the churches, the universities, the news media, charitable organizations, book publishers, lawyers, teachers, artists, women's organizations and cultural groups.† Quite aside from the moral issues involved, the CIA had neglected one of the fundamental rules of the spy business: it had failed to keep its operations distinct

* But Lawrence Houston, general counsel for the agency, quickly made it clear in a rare public statement that the CIA had no intention of taking action against any NSA leaders.

† Organizations which received money directly or indirectly included the African American Institute, American Council for International Commission of Jurists, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, American Friends of the Middle East, American Newspaper Guild, American Society of African Culture, Asia Foundation, Association of Hungarian Students in North America, Committee for Self-Determination, Committee of Correspondence, Committee on International Relations, Fund for International Social and Economic Education, Independent Research Service, Institute of International Labor Research, International Development Foundation, International Marketing Institute, National Council of Churches, National Education Association, Paderewski Foundation, Pan American Foundation (University of Miami), Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, Radio Free Europe, Synod of Bishops of the Russian Church Outside Russia, United States Youth Council.

Foreign beneficiaries included *African Forum*, *Africa Report*, *Berliner Verein*, Center of Studies and Documentation (Mexico), Congress for Cultural Freedom, in Paris (which supported the publications *Hiwar*, Lebanon; *Forum*, Austria; *Preuves*, France; as well as *Encounter*, Britain), Frente Departamental de Campesinos de Puno, Foreign News Service, Inc., Institute of Political Education (Costa Rica), Interamerica Federation of Newspapermen's Organizations, International Federation of Free Journalists, International Journalists, International Student Conference, Public Services International, World Assembly of Youth, World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

Conduits for CIA money included the Andrew Hamilton Fund, Beacon Fund, Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Borden Trust, Broad-High Foundation, Catherwood Foundation, Chesapeake Foundation, David, Joseph and Winfield Baird Foundation, Dodge Foundation, Edsel Fund, Florence Foundation, Gotham Fund, Heights Fund, Independence Foundation, J. Frederick Brown Foundation, J. M. Kaplan Foundation, Jones-O'Donnell, Kentfield Fund, Littauer Foundation, Marshall Foundation, McGregor Fund, Michigan Fund, Monroe Fund, Norman Fund, Pappas Charitable Trust, Price Fund, Robert E. Smith Fund, San Miguel Fund, Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, Tower Fund, Vernon Fund, Warden Trust, Williford-Telford Fund.

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spread this money around? In other words, what they have been doing with it, as far as I can see, is to finance socialism in America."

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said "it was a mistake for the CIA ever to entangle itself in covert activities close to the field of education or scholarship or the universities." However, he had "little respect for critics who give themselves airs of moral superiority in attacking an activity they know to be necessary."

Senator Robert F. Kennedy thought it unfair to let the CIA "take the rap." He said the programs had been approved at the highest levels of the government in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. "If the policy was wrong, it was not the product of the CIA but of each Administration . . . We must not forget that we are not dealing with a dream world, but with a very tough adversary."

At that, President Johnson directed his news secretary, George Christian, to tell the press that he was "totally unaware" of the CIA's links with the National Student Association. To reduce the political pressures, the President ordered an investigation by a three-man group, headed by Undersecretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and including Gardner and Helms. Katzenbach said, "The President believes strongly that the integrity and independence of the educational community must be preserved. He has directed a careful review of any government activities that may endanger this integrity and independence."

The following week, however, on February 23, the President endorsed a preliminary finding by the Katzenbach group that absolved both the CIA and the Administration. The CIA "did not act on its own initiative," the panel declared, "but in accordance with policies established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954. Throughout it acted with the approval of senior interdepartmental review committees, including the Secretaries of State and Defense or their representatives . . . the support provided by the Central Intelligence Agency enabled many far-sighted and courageous Americans to serve their country in times of challenge and danger to the United States and the free world. Furthermore, the Central Intelligence Agency has been, and continues to be, indispensable to the security of this nation. It is vitally important that the current controversy over its support of certain private organizations not be permitted to obscure the